1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

177 known to have been recently adopted by the Yokuts from their Mono neighbors, i.e., the
439 triangular winnowing tray and the picturesque hooded twined cradle which are now made by Yokuts women instead of being bought from the
[174] Monachi. And, though it is yet to be proved, I believe that the pottery-making of the Yokuts foothills is a craft derived from the Western Mono, linking with the Southern Basin Shoshoneans and the Navajo rather than with the pottery-makers of Southern California.[4]

177 Western Mono have adopted Yokuts houses and have made one innovation, at least, in
[342] adapting a thatch covering to the two-post oval frame (Waksachi).

In the realm of mythology the Western Mono have accepted many Yokuts myths, yet share with their linguistic relatives of the Basin tales not told by the Yokuts.[5]

● 178 Today many Yokuts are on the Tule River Reservation; a few families have been permitted
171 to live almost undisturbed on the large ranches of white landowners along the foothills. Some Yokuts and Western Mono have small claims of their own on which they dwell as poor ranchers or woodsmen. Little of the aboriginal life shows in this existence, save for the continued use of acorn foods and the few implements needed for their preparation, and basketmaking, an art which flourishes because of tourist trade. Some mothers still confine their infants in the hooded cradle. Native language and kinship terms are in use; family totems are retained, and official functions are aberrantly performed on rare occasions. Otherwise the life of Yokuts and Monachi is scarcely distinguishable from that of poor white farmers and laborers in the San Joaquin Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills.

133 Before entering upon the ethnography which follows, the reader should be familiarized with the geographic aspect of the San Joaquin Valley in aboriginal times. Naturally enough, the environment of the upper and lower foothills has changed but little, whereas the great valley floor was unbelievably different in the past from the completely dry, hard plain it is today. There is no better way to present the picture of the past than to permit eyewitnesses to speak for themselves. There were many travelers in the area who left records of their experiences with the troublesome mire of the *tule swamps and of their awe-struck admiration* for the scenery of the Sierra Nevada; but no account so well fits our purpose as that of Lieutenant George H. Derby, who in May, 1850, made a circuit of the valley for military re-

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[4] Cf. Tschopik, Navaho Pottery Making, 70 ff.; Hill, Navajo Pottery Manufacture, 16, as regards pit-firing in the west Navajo area.

[5] Gayton, Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, 395.

[6] E.g., Estudillo, Frémont, Carson, Bunnell, Bidwell, and others.

769 178 Although Pohasa was an important captain, no proper mourning ceremony for him was made as "not enough people were left." For several years aberrant, rather private, ceremonies have been held, but recently Tachi of the chiefly lineage have refused to attempt any ceremonial mourning observances.

769 616 Gifford states in his notes on Tachi moieties:

In mourning ceremonies (bahatya) the nutuwuts chief washes the faces of the toxelyuwiš mourners, while the toxelyuwiš chief does the same for the nutuwuts mourners. Each chief is assisted by three women. At such a mourning ceremony everyone cries and wails.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

796 668 J.A. said she did not remember much about the Ghost Dance, it was "just like a dream." She was a little girl when they were living at Pisras and someone came and told her uncle Charlie [the chief, Tipwatswat] that everyone must go up to Eshom Valley. This messenger told the Tachi, Wowol, and Tule River people the same thing: no one was to stay behind. They believed they were going to see dead people, that all their relatives were coming back.

When they arrived in Eshom Valley they were told not to sleep. J.A. was too little to dance so she hung about with two girl cousins. Little children like themselves might sleep, but one big girl "died" because she slept. Lying near the fire, she remained unconscious for about an hour. Everyone went to look at her. No one attempted to revive her: she "just woke up."

Everyone was exhorted to dance, with the threat that they would die if they did not participate. A few people "died and came to life again." One girl "died fighting her mother"; she returned to life but was mentally deranged thereafter.

Shamans did not participate but reclined under shades and reported occasionally on what *they heard from the supernatural world. They* did not dance, even with solo performances.

One man, a Telamni, went around telling what he had heard. Such a person was called kosa'na; other tribes [the valley people] called a man like that hilet:ts, a great talker.

342 be three or four, above it. The topmost band was actually a small ring about 18 inches in diameter inside the pole tops which were spread apart by it: it served as a smoke hole as no covering was placed above it (fig. 5, a, b).

The thatch covering was made by twining together in long sections small bunches of fine willow or long fine grass. The grasses were placed head downward the better to shed water. These skirtlike sections were held in place by long willow strips running around outside of and parallel to the inner horizontal frame bands. The exterior band and thatch were bound to the interior band with ho'. An upper layer of thatch overlapped its lower neighbor by about one foot. When a house leaked, which was claimed to be only in prolonged rainstorms which soaked the grasses, a bundle of thatch or a tule mat was fastened over the weak spot.[153]

[285] A panel door was made by tying a specially made mat of tule or willow to a framework of willow or young alder. Normally this leaned against the house at one side of the doorway, but in bad weather, the only occasion for its use, it was tied over the door from the inside. Skins were not hung over the doorway. Storehouses were supplied with little doors tied on from the outside.

[354] The fireplace was always in a small hollow in the center of the house. In the summer, 342 however, domestic fires were most frequently 352 built outside under the ramada. The floor was covered with tule mats, several of which were piled together to make comfortable sleeping places. Baskets, articles in frequent use, and valuables were stored around the outer edges of the room. Cooking stones, stone-lifters, and mush-stirrer remained by the fireplace. Overhead one or more rods, whose ends rested on the horizontal frame bands, served as a place to hang articles; a special kind of hanging basket was made for this use. Small valuables were often hidden in the upper thatch or between mats. (M.L., J.P., S.G.) The most desirable [574] place for sitting during the daytime was just inside the door. At night, and when sleeping, a guest was placed at the center back.

342 Mats were rarely used on a conical frame as they were not readily adaptable to its shape. 285 They were twined of fine willow or tule, varied from 2 to 4 feet in width, and were about 6 feet long. Four or five mats were needed to cover a house of average size; they were tied on with milkweed string. Such mats could be removed from one house to another and were convenient to roll up and take to summer camp. One informant (M.L.) stated that tule house mats were sewed, not twined, a method

[178]

[153] No native-type houses are in use today. Two normal-sized but poorly built grass thatch houses, which had been made for show purposes, were seen by the recorder at Squaw Valley in 1927. They had been built by Chukaimina living there.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.1159] WuKchuWi

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman. J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake [756] shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people *eat too much meat and grease.*"

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

846 852 783 women relatives of the man's family did the same for the wife's attendants (mother and sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

[292] [825 237]

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

431 846 852 783 A further exchange of gifts took place. The young mother's family had assembled quantities of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

[178] Today gifts are given at a child's birth, e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[269] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

591 young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

585 When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they (which family, both ?) gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

582 Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

178 582 Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past (first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.), and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

582 [614] [587] Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

586 The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

428 A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

606 Parent-in-law tabu.---A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 196 b] Chuckchansi

Death

763 When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attend-
764 ants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators
[152] burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

764 According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty
[152] minutes. There were four official singers who
[481] sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by
[177] the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the
● 178] established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cre-
[766] mated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its
[431] clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124]The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125]p. 383.

Other songs of this sort are the Wali Wali, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the Morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choyniami and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] [178] songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.

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[171] Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

[196] Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

[171] All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

[p. 9-A]

538 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or
773 revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the nar-
[173] rator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

538 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic,
178 neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case
[171] in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical
[173] information. The myths are repeated to the
[869] young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals over-
[182] come, and so on. The explanatory element is frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

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[124] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

[p. 9-B]

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).

[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremo-
[796] nials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9] The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.